1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

As in Lakemba, so in Mbau; the Ndau is the only one who may wear a turban in a gathering of chiefs; this is a custom from old times. They also wear turbans in Thakaundrove and everywhere. Levukans also get the head of the pig in Mbau, and if Mbauans come to Lakemba and get a pig they send the head to the Levukans. It has something to do with border people or "teeth" (*mbati*); but the head of the fish is for the chiefs of Mbau.

The Levukans used to go to Mbau to install every new Vunivalu as Tui Levuka. They have not installed the last two; but if the present one wished it, the Levuka people would "make him drink." (See p. 69.)

The *tauvu*[1] of Levuka is Nandave, once a village of eight clans, now merely a clan adjoining Mualevu village. Levuka and Nandave have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Other *tauvu* are Nasau and Namathake in Koro, and the island of Mango the inhabitants of which are now in Namalata, Vanua Mbalavu.

Lauandoko

Lauandoko, the Country, as distinguished from Tumbou and Levuka, includes the villages of Wathiwathi, Waitambu, Nasangalau, Vakano, Nukunuku, Narethake, and Yandrana.

The clans of Wathiwathi and their sides of the oven are:

1.	Nanduruvesi	{ Nakanoru { Talikimamana
2.	Mataivungalei	Mbukanitunga
3.	Veikau	{ Naseuvou { Vutuna { Takalai

Nanduruvesi are the nobles. Nanduruvesi is the Tui Naiau's oven emplacement; in other words, they make feasts there for the Tui Naiau. Veikau are the people of the land (*kai vanua*) and they worked for Tui Wathiwathi; they are also teeth (*mbati*). It was formerly a strong clan and counted two mighty men. The succession of Tui Wathiwathi has been: Jujua, Songgulu his "brother," Jujua's son, Songgulu's son, Songgulu's son's son.

Waitambu (Holy-spring) formerly planted food for Tui Wathiwathi, and joined that village in war. The village has the following clans and sides of the oven:

Nanggalitoka	{ Valeiloma { Navai
Rakuta	{ Ndakoto { Nanggalia { Matawai
Lomaitilou	{ Lomaitilou { Nakambuta
Nggawaleka	{ Tandulu { Mbatiniwai { Nanduruvesi

[1] [For definition of tauvu, see cat. 116, pp. 199-201. -- Analyst]

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The population of Waitambu has never reached a hundred because the Matangi women do not wish it (p. 214). Waitambu as a whole is *tauvu* of Vakano as a whole, and of a clan of Wakai in Yaroi, Matuku. No reason is known for the connection with Wakai. Waitambu is also related to Moala. (For the connection with Mango and Vakano, see p. 215.)

In Nasangalau the clans and sides of the oven are:

Nakambuta	Naikelikeli Waipose Naivikula Navurewa Natonga
Nautonggumu	Vandrasikita Ndre Mbutha Naivithethere
Ndreketi	Nambavatu Mbautolu
Loma	Nanggaravea

Nakambuta lead; they are the nobles. Nakambuta and the nobles of Tumbou are one. The people of Nakambuta on that account often serve the High Chief, as did the father of the present Ramasi. Ratu Sikeli, whose mother was the elder sister of the present High Chief's father, is reckoned among the nobles of Tumbou. He is a bigger person than Ramasi, the chief, who belongs to Nakambuta. The present holder alone stood in the male line so he was put first. The Ramasi formerly did no planting, but sat in the house. If they planted taro it perished

The herald of Nasangalau used to be in Ndreketi and Loma, but now he is in Nakambuta. Ndreketi and Loma are brothers; they are the owners of the land; their lands adjoin Tumbou on one side and Vakano on the other. The nobles of Nasangalau came from oversea and Nakambuta owe the land to their mothers. Nautonggumu are the "border" or "teeth" (*inbati*) and get the head of the pig.

The *tauvu* of Nasangalau are Waitovu in Ovalau, Tovulailai in Nairai, and Ndaku in Matuku. The precise clan to which they are *tauvu* is not known. Waitovu and Tovulailai are also *tauvu* to one another. Ketei in Totoya is the *tauvu* of Loma by reason of Raluve and Koilasa.

Yaroi in Matuku and Nasangalau are thorough kinsmen, kinsmen by birth. This is because Vakaotia was first married to a Tui Yaroi, chief in Matuku, and from her are descended the later Tui Yaroi. Then a nobleman of Nasangalau went over to Yaroi and brought her back as his wife, and from that arose the nobles of Nasangalau. Yaroi take precedence because their ancestor was born before the ancestor of Tui Nasangalau.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Fulanga and Nasangalau are also kinfolk because a forefather of the present Ramasi went to dwell in Fulanga. He was slain at the instigation of the nobles of Tumbou. The palms, creepers, and pumpkins that grow on the spot where he was killed are white; no grass will grow there. If the people of Fulanga are hard up they ask Ramasi to help them; he may go to Fulanga and beg for timber, and the district chief and his family will fell timber for one side of the house, while the village headman and his family fell for the other side.

Vakano is one of the smallest, if not the smallest, village in Lakemba. (See p. 216.) The clans and sides of the oven are:

Vandravua	Lomai
	Tiro
Malaka	Mataimalo
	Nakorolailai
Suthuve	Naivisalala
	Naivikatavio
	Natambuka
	Navutu

The people of Vakano suppose that the Tu ni Mata, as the chief used to be called, was a priest. If a noble came from Tumbou he called first on Tui Ra. (See p. 76.) The *tauvu* of Vakano are Waitambu and Ndravo. One ancient went to Ndrava, one to Waitambu; both were spirits.

In Nukunuku the clans and their sides of the oven are:

Lomanikoro	Nambulevu
	Nambulailai
	Nasea
Matakei	Matakei
	Ndralakaka
Mbete	Naviloaloa
	Nauturoaroa
	Nautopolo

Nambulevu is the clan of Tui Soso, Nambulailai of the heralds. (There are no more heralds.) One *tauvu* of Nukunuku is Thomo, a village in the island of Nggamea near Taveuni, because they have gods in common (*kalou vata*). Another *tauvu* is Naitaumbe because the two have one ancestor god.

Nukunuku is related to Oneata, Komo, and Namuka. To Oneata because the heralds Mandingi, Talimangimangi and their sister Uma of Nambulailai went over to Oneata. The people of Oneata saw they were strong planters and energetic, and so the island was given them to rule. To Komo because Naivi, a woman of Nukunuku, went to dwell in Komo. Namuka originates from Nukunuku because a lady of Nukunuku went to Namuka.

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations on the old site

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Narothake was always a small village. The foundations of the old site

number ten or six. The *tauvu* of Narothake is Notokalau in Ovalau, because of Mbatininggaka. The clans of the village are:

Vialailai	Vialailai
Vialevu	{ Nayala { Nasikethi

In Yandrana the clans are:

Mbaumbunia	{ Nandawa Lomanikoro Nasuthu Natalenggitawa Namolutu	Thenu	{ Namana { Mbutukoro
		Sau	{ Mbutoisau { Nakorolailai
Yawalevu	{ Nautuutu Natavua Keloa		

The first seven Tui Yandrana were of Mbaumbunia; since then they have belonged to Thenu. The present Vaka is of Yawalevu. The Vaka is "The Speech of the Land" (*vosa ni vanua*). If the chief decides a thing he tells the Vaka to inform the people. The Tui Ra belongs to Thenu. Nasau and Yandua in the island of Ngau are *tauvu* to one another.

ISLANDS SUBJECT TO LAKEMBA

Relationship

The Fijian word for subject is *nggali;* Fison (4) connects it with *nggali* (to roll string). A *nggali* is therefore a strand of string and means properly a group of people, as in *matanggali*, a clan; but it usually conveys the idea of subjection. The land or chief that brings a country into subjection to another is said to "bring it to . . ."; or to "turn it round" (*vukitha*). There are various degrees: a people who are very much subject (*nggali sara*) obey (*vakarorongo*); the extreme is to be very serfs (*kaisi sara*), or a chief's very own men (*tamata ndina sara nga*). On the other hand, a land which goes to another may merely recognize its hegemony.

The Roko Sau rules all the villages of Lau. The islands of Thithia and Naiau are subject to Lakemba, but they stand apart from the rest of Lau. Oneata, Mothe, Kambara, Fulanga, and Ono each form a *matanitu*—a word which means literally "face of the chief," but may be translated as "state."

The people of these islands give the salutation called *tama* (p. 48) to the nobles of Lakemba: some salute the Tui Tumbou in this way, some do not; a few will do it for the Tui Nasangalau. They also clap when a noble washes his hands after a meal. Formerly they lowered their sails as they came into Tumbou and paddled to the anchorage; they walked about Tumbou with folded arms.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Formerly Naiau brought yams and roast bananas to Lakemba. The Southern Islands formerly brought in no roots, and no first fruits of yams. With the exception of Ono these islands were poor and lived on food obtained in Lakemba. But Oneata and Mothe brought fermented food (*mandrai*) and bananas; Kambara brought coconuts and a shell fish called *kekeua;* Fulanga brought fish and coconuts. Formerly they brought chiefly manufactured articles to Great House and these were called "wares of the land" (*i yau ni vanua*).

631
651

Naiau

Naiau stands in a peculiar position: Tui Naiau holds it. The island is described by the Lakemban nobles as "the land of our little house, of our kitchen." The people are household servants (*kai vale*) of Tui Naiau. They carry firewood for him on their backs, like women, and cook for him with pots like women. They are not very low; if they beg whatever they mention will not be denied. However, in visiting Naiau the Lakemban nobles freely help themselves to food without asking. In the Southern Islands the Lakemban nobles beg of the natives, or may take by force, which is resented; while in Naiau such actions are condoned, "for it is our soil, our animals;" the nobles came to Lakemba and left the Naiau people in charge." If any one is rude inside the Tui Naiau's compound, the Naiau people deal with him. They act as indoor-heralds like Katumbalevu.

636
656

The villages of Naiau stand in the following order: Salyia (Nasalia); Narothivo; Liku. The inhabitants of Salia recently lived in Ndevo, but moved to the new village by Maafu. Of old, if a village moved it kept its name, but now it takes the name of the new site. Narothivo was formerly the leading village, and to the present day the chief of Naiau takes his title of Tui Naro from that village, but Nasalia was strong-handed and became chief in the days when Christianity was just beginning. Liku has no position: it is made up of people from the other two villages who went to plant there. The *tauvu* of Naiau is Notho, one of the most noted *tauvu* ships in Lau. (See p. 212.)

621

607

Thithia

Thithia was not a Lakemban dependency of old, but a land that "merely was" (*e tawa na koto ngai*); it is as turned round in consequence of wars. Thithia and Ono are described as *ngaoni vaka-veiambani* or *ngaoni veiam-bani*; the word *iamba* means side, wing; *veiambani* therefore means related as one side to the other; and *ngaoni veiambani* means that Ono and Thithia are subject to Lakemba inasmuch as each forms one of a pair with Lakemba. The Lakembans, however, can give no explanation of the term, except that

636
721

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

they are able to fight with Lakemba. An army twice went against Ono. Thithia also was twice attacked. A Thithia man explains:

> If a noble of Tombou went to Thithia, or a noble of Thithia went to Lakemba, he was snubbed. They were like bananas (*mbalembale vakawandi*) because neither was above the other, but both on a level. If Thithia was defeated it is because they ate Roko Nayatha, a nobleman of Lakemba, in the course of the wars; had they not done so they would never have been beaten.
>
> The *tauvu* of Thithia is Kanathea. This is due to Ratumaimbulu. He is worshipped both in Kanathea and in Tarukua. Vatuvara is also *tauvu*, also has gods in common (*tevoro vata*). Mbenga (Mbengga) is also *tauvu*: the nobles of Lakemba began; it spread to Thithia because it is considered to be Lakemban territory.

Besides "going to" Lakemba, Thithia "goes to" other Moala Islands; the village of Tokalau (Natokalau), to Totoya: Mambula and Tarukua, to Moala: Natheva and Lomati, to Matuku and Moala. They go by way of kinship only (as opposed to subjection). Their dialect is more after the Moala type, but spoken in a singsong way.

The chief village of Thithia is Mambula. Its clans are: Ngoneulu or Turangaulu, Soso, Mambula, Nggelenggele, Walakewa, Lauva. Ngoneulu are noble, Soso are their equals, and Tui Thithia is appointed among them also. In Tarukua are two clans of nobles: Vunisea and Nggitawa, from among whom Tui Thithia can also be chosen. Soso goes with Nggitawa; they are brothers. Of old they all lived in Tarukua. The nobles have a common descent but have split up into sections. Mambula are the heralds of Tui Thithia. There are small heralds in the various villages. The other clans are the people of the land (*leqe ni vanua*).

The clans of Tarukua are: Sawana, Yarovi, Tarukualeka. Nggitawa are included in Yarovi: their fathers were there before. The Turangaulu and the Vunisea of Tarukua are in Sawana. The Vunisea of Mambula live with the Turangaulu of that place. An informant says,

> We the natives of Yarovi, are the noblemen's old men (*nggase*), but the Nggitawa lives with us and are installed as Tui Thithia. We are bastards (*i tukini*) to them; the bastards wait upon the noblemen; their fields are not used for feasts; they are for the use of the noblemen (*na kendralou nga*); but the fields of the nobles are used for feasts.

Yarovi is really a side of the oven. It is divided into two sections (*i tokatoka*): Tiro and Nggelo. Some nobles are in Tiro, some in Nggelo; the descendants of the female line in Tiro, of the male line in Nggelo. If the descendants of the male line are extinct, the descendants of the female line of the bastards may be appointed.

Sawana is a clan, not a side of the oven. Its sides of the oven are: Valuliku, Nasawa, Vanga. There are also sections (*i tokatoka*). Nasawa

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pre-Christian. The clans of Nangalingali are: Naivotavota, Tanggu, Nanggora, Matai.

The Naivotavota and Tanggu are noble and descended from two brothers, Tanggu being descended from the eldest; but no one was made Tui Kambara. The ancestor of the two clans came from Uangava (Vuanggava). The third clan is "the Land"; the fourth, which is partly Tongan, is the carpenter's clan, and to it belong the Lemaki (p. 55).

There was much fighting between the villages of Nangalingali and Tokalau for the leadership in Christian times. The present Tui Kambara is of Tokalau.

Nukuloa in Vanua Levu is *tauvu* to Kambara on account of the ancestor-god. Kambara people at one time went to plant in Lakemba. On account of the ladies the people of Kambara used to go to Tanggalevu so in course of time Tanggalevu were made envoys to Kambara. Kambara is also connected with Totoya. There is a strong connection with Tonga because the Tongans formerly built canoes in Kambara.

Komo and Namuka are colonies of Kambara. Komo, a noble land before the inhabitants were killed off by Kambara and Totoya, now has only one village. It was settled from Kambara in fairly recent times. The clans are: Tuvana, Nukusea, Folo, Nasau.

Namuka has only one village, a large one, which was peopled from Nangalingali. Its clans are: Toiovu, Mbautolu, Nawatia, Taliku, Nasau, Nanggalitoka, Sawa. The first Tui Namuka dates from Christian times. Namuka and Matuku are closely related. Namuka goes to Nukunuku in Lakemba.

In Namuka the water is so scarce that in times of drought it is brought from neighboring islands.

FULANGA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Fulanga (Vulanga) is an exceedingly low-born land. Formerly when its people went to Kambara, Motha, or Lakemba, they walked stooping with folded arms. The island constantly suffers from scarcity. The people are great fishermen and excel with the fish spear. Their hair is said to be fair as a result of their constant diving, but I have seen only one fair haired individual from this island. (See II, I, II.) Fulanga and Ketei in Totoya are fauna. Ongea, Ono, Motha, and Oneata are dependencies of Fulanga. Regarding these I have received the following from informants:

Ongea was once a noble (turanga) land. Its pennant was hoisted in some peculiar manner about whereas Fulanga flies it as has been. The old men of the island used to be known as "the holy elders" (matua tauvu). When Tui Ongea was on board a

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Lord of Naiau was accompanied on his journeys by a man or two of Wathiwathi, who made kava for him; it was the duty of the people of Waitambu and Vakano to make the oven. Some say Yandrana should also, but the men of Yandrana deny it: "Yandrana," they say, "did not use to make the oven for warming up the Chief's food: that is the duty of Wathiwathi and Waitambu, who belong to the same side (*i tambani*) as the nobles. Yandrana is *mbati*, and does not come near the preparation of food. It is the duty of Navuaira to prepare the oven; they are the side (*i tambani*) of the nobles; my duty is different; if there is disorder in any place, and Roko Sau sends me to see the temper of that country I shall go in spite of thunder, rain, and death, because it is my duty."

Lauans suffer from home sickness (*tailasa*); there are parts of Fiji where men are inclined to wander abroad; not so in Lau because they are comfortable and their islands have a charm for them. One man thus describes his feelings in Tonga: "Both my body and my soul were homesick because they have different customs there. I did not like the way they prepared meals. If a man is homesick in Tonga let him not go down to the beach and see the setting sun; there is not a bit of his soul that remains in Tonga: it is all in Fiji." A man will become homesick if he sees "the clouds of his country."

No Lauan ever goes to a place where he has no relatives, unless it is in the service of the church or the State. A knowledge of pedigrees is therefore useful. The most roundabout relatives are made use of: thus a boy of Malaka, Vanua Mbalavu, received a present of oil from a man of Lomati in Thithia because his father had some relation with the village of Muamua, Vanua Mbalavu, which is a tribal cross-cousin (*tavou*) to Lomati.

Two strangers may start a relationship by agreement. Thus a Matuku family having hospitably entertained a Tongan in Moturiki became related to him and was told to seek his house when they came to Lakemba. Or one man may recommend another to the care of his relatives.

A distinction is made between state kinship (*veiwekani vaka turanga*), and kinship through common descent (*veiwekani kawa vata*). State kinship connects two places by the intermarriage of their nobilities; by common descent the two places or families have a common ancestry.

A man who has in him the blood of the nobility of one place is said to be noble in that other place: thus the nobles of Muaiava are noble in Lakemba. This expression is apt to mislead Europeans who translate "they are chiefs in Lakemba" or "over Lakemba," whereas it merely means that they belong to the Lakemban nobility by reason of the eldest daughter of Mumialwalu, from whom they are descended. It means very much the same as "being native of a place" only applied to countries that have nobilities (p. 87).

The word *vulagi*, besides meaning stranger, also means guest; indeed it always seems to involve the idea of a sojourner in the land; a foreigner plain and simple is *kai tani* (man of elsewhere).

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

KINSHIP

The cross-cousin relationship is the foundation of the kinship system of Lau, and differs in no respect from that usually described as the Fijian system, but which is really that of Mbau and Lomaitivi. If a man is related in any way to another man, he will be related in exactly the same way to that other man's brother, but not to his sister. If he is related in any way to a woman he is related in the same way to that woman's sister, but not to her brother. The Lauan kinship terms are here given:

Kainga. Relation. The Tongan word is *kainga*; the Fijian *veiwekani* is also used, but it also means brother and sister. A frequent term is *veikilai*, acquainted, for to know a man and to be related to a man are the same.

Tama. Father. Includes the father's brother, the father's father's brother's son, and so on. Other fathers than the true father are distinguished as little fathers. The term "big father" is not used.

Tina. Mother; also mother's sister, mother's mother's sister's daughter, following the female line. Mothers other than the true mother are called "little mother." The term "big mother" is unknown. A term of address to a mother is *nau*; it is also used as a proper name with the article *ko*; *na tinanggu*, my mother, but *ko nau*, mother.

Luve. Child. The converse of *tama* and *tina*. To designate a brother's child *luve ni tathinggu* is used.

Tuaka. Elder brother of a male, or elder sister of a female; also sometimes used by a man to designate his elder sister; used by the son of a younger brother to designate the son, whether older or younger, of a elder brother.

Tathi. The converse of *tuaka*; a man's younger brother or a woman's younger sister. If not own brothers or sisters *tathi* is applied to the descendant of the younger brother or sister. The term "my little *tathi*" was once used by a woman to designate the descendant of a younger brother. The term *tathi* is sometimes used in speaking of the opposite sex.

Weka. Relatives in general, but more particularly a man's sister, or a woman's brother.

Tuka. Grandfather, and any male ancestor. A great grandfather is *tukanggu tukaru* (my grandfather twice).

Tumbu. Grandmother and any female ancestor.

Makumbu. Grandchild is the converse of *tuka* and *tumbu*. Proper terms for generations below grandchildren, *vuarumbe* for great-grandchildren, and *timbutimbu* for great-great-grandchildren rarely used. In conversation people speak of their grandchildren twice, or thrice.

Vungo. The mother's brother and his wife; the father's sister and her husband, husband's father or mother; nephew. It is its own converse and is used by a man to designate his sister's children; by a woman, her children, and so on. A term of address for the mother's brother is *mama*.

Tavale. Father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, if the persons related are of the same sex; wife's brother, and husband's sister.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 — OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 602 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say, with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

684 643 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

593 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

601 simple kindship term: a man will speak of another as "my *tauvu*" (*nggou tauvu*), and a collective *veitauvu* has been formed from this, and from this again has been formed a verb *veitauvutaki* which means to behave or to be as one man to his *tauvu*.

602 [776] The relation of *tauvu* is commonly defined as having common spirits (*tevoro vata*) or having common gods (*vu vata*). The behaviour of people who are *tauvu* to one another is described thus:

[824] They abuse one another and do not resent it, men and women, it is all one. When they meet they say, "The orphan," or "the body fit to bake is coming." When they have done abusing one another they talk nicely. If a stranger comes into the village and as a joke strokes or ruffles the head of a native the people of that village know he must be a *tauvu* because the head is a respected part of the body. Cross-cousins are like people *tauvu* to one another: they may joke obscenely. The custom of *tauvu* is like that of *vasu*, for if a man goes to a place which is *tauvu* to him he can slaughter pigs and fowls for his own use without asking leave.

602 621 Lakemba, apart from the nobles, has the following *tauvu*: Wainikeli in Taveuni; the island of Mbengga; some village of Koro, no one knew which; and Namara, near Mbau. When, however, these relationships are looked into they are found really to belong to particular clans in Tumbou, but they have extended more or less to the whole island.

The real *tauvu* of the nobles and of all Katumbalevu is Notho, near Rewa. Notho is really the *tauvu* of Naiau; the nobles being from Naiau have the same *tauvu*. (For the story, see p. 212.)

The other *tauvu* are not *tauvu* of the nobles only because they are *tauvu* of the landsmen (*koira a Vanua*), that is, Valelailai, Thekena, Tumbou. Emosi declares that Valelailai alone has *tauvu* because they were owners of the god Tui Lakemba; Wainikeli, Mbengga, Koro, and Namara are *tauvu* because of him; he went to those places. Semi of Tumbou admits that the clan that has most *tauvu* is Narewandamu, and that Emosi ought to know because his father lived long in Wainikeli and Namara. The Wainikeli people themselves name Narewandamu as their *tauvu*; the others are not disputed except Mbengga which Tui Tumbou claims as his. Poasa tells the following legend about Mbengga:

773 776 The daughter of Tui Lakemba was Raluve. She climbed a *mamba* tree. This goddess then flew like a bird. She reached right up to heaven and came down to Mbengga, where she married Tui Mbengga, the god (*vu*) of Mbengga. She had a child, in Mbengga, and so she had descendants in Mbengga. The Mbenggans are descendants of the female, while Lakembans are descendants of the male; Lakemba and Mbengga are therefore cross-cousins, and this cross-cousinship is called *veitauvutaki*.

602 621 Waitambu is subject to Thekena because they have common spirits (*Kalou*), common gods (*vu*). It was never said that they were *tauvu* to Thekena.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Tanggalevu is *tauvu* on account of Ulupoko either to Vuna or Vuya. The Vuna people do not mention Tumbou among their *tauvu*. 602 621 776

Tuware has no *tauvu* because Tui Vutu was a god (*kalou*) that originated in Lakemba.

The *tauau* of the clan of Mbaumbunia is the island of Lauthala, by reason of the god Rereakalou. Another *tauvu* is Vatoa: the ancestor god of Yandrana went to Vatoa.

Lomaloma, esperially the clan of Nambutha, is *tauvu* of Yandrana.

ELVES

Whereas the true spirits (*tevoro*) are never spirits (*kalou*) belonging to the individuals, Tui Tumbou thinks the Children of Water, or elves, might be considered to be so. He has taken part in the rites of old when they were known as fearful spirits (? *kalou rere*), and gives the following account: 776 794

It is from Ndengei (the snake god that lives in Nakauvandra) that the Children of Water originate. He gave breadfruit, Tahitian chestnuts, *ndawa*. It is said he made the world (*puli vuravura*). His sons are Children of Water: Mautu, Nathirikaumoli, Nakausambari, and many others, the children or subjects of Ndengei. His cock was his awakener; Turukawa was the name of the cock. Rokola, the god (*vu*) of the Carpenters (*mataisau*), went and shot it dead with an arrow. Ndengei did not hear the cock in the morning and was angry. He caused rain to fall, and a flood rushed down from Nakauvandra, and the Carpenters floated away, Rokola floated away. Rokola said, "You always remember Rokola." Such were his dying words (*tatau ni mate*). Some landed in Naitasiri; some got to Rewa and stayed there, and still dwell in Nandorokavu. They brought down soil from Nakauvandra, Nathirikaumoli and Nakausambaru are said to have gone to White Man's Land; that's why there is skill there; but now they are not to be found because they are on their way back to Fiji.

The Fearful Spirits [those who practised the rites] went to the bush and were taught by the Fearful Spirits for four weeks or more. They caused the Fearful Spirits to enter them; the Fearful Spirit that entered a man was called his friend (*i tau*). The leader or teacher was called Vuninduvu. When they were proficient he would throw a spear at a man; the man would call out: "The rampart! the rampart!" (*a mba*) and beat his chest; then the Vuninduvu struck him and the spear glanced off. If a true spirit is in a man it flies before the spear, and the spear penetrates the man, because the spirit is afraid. It is otherwise with the Fearful Spirits (*kalou rere*).

When they were proficient they went to hold a festival (*solevu*) on the Green in honor of the Fearful Spirits. Men were speared there and so people saw and believed. There are various tribes (*yavusa*) of Fearful Spirits, for they have clans. The Faces of the Wood (*mata ni kau*) are one tribe; they are speared with a spear. Another family called Coconut cutters (*Tava vono*) broke coconuts in two on their shins. The Coconut-eyes (*matamniu*) set up a coconut, and sat down and sang:

Ko Mataniniu, ia vana niu,	Coconut-eyes, shoot coconuts,
Vana ko sunggasungga tale mai.	Shoot and draw back.

As they sang they took aim, leant back, sat up again, and repeated the song and the motions several times; then they shot the coconut right in the eye and the milk gushed forth. Then they clapped hands and sang:

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The Tui Naiau said, "Good," and gave some men of Vuanggava and some from Ongea. This same Rasau, Nggalitha, was sister's son to Ndakuilomaloma and sometimes went to stay with them. Now at that time there were in Ndaku some Yandrana men of the clan of Kelo because Mbutha and Yandrana are *tauva*. They installed a man of Kelo as herald to the Rasau; that is why the people of Ndaku are heralds.

An informant says:

If a Rasau dies, Mbutha choose a successor, the eldest of living brothers; then Ndakuilomaloma hold a council to ratify: only the heralds attend. Then Nggala is informed. The herald goes to Tuvutha to tell them to come. The Rasau does not bear any title before installation. All the villages attend the installation. Of old, Lomaloma was not divided in two and there was only one chief, the Rasau. He is installed as follows:

The men of Ndaku strain the kava and on either side of the bowl sits a man of Tuvutha. Two men of Ndaku stand behind those that make the kava, each holding a club and it is their duty to mount guard on the installation. When the kava has been chewed there sit behind the bowl two men of Tuvutha, one called Takala, the other Matakilomaloma. When they are about to strain the kava, the herald stands up and shouts that all the people of Lomaloma may hear, and says, "Hear, ye people of Lomaloma, today is held the installation of the Sau, today is installed the chief of us Lomalomans. Know ye well, and obey him, and do to him all the chiefly customs."

When the herald has so proclaimed he sits down and calls out to press the kava. When the kava is pressed the two men on either side of the bowl hold a torch. Then the herald says, "Lift up," and they lift up the kava, and lift up also the two torches to examine the kava; this is done in broad daylight. If the kava is satisfactory they strain it. When all the lees have been removed, they pour out the kava. The Takala and the Matakilomaloma then stand up and bring three pieces of bark cloth and come near the chief who is being installed as Rasau and stand in his presence, and the Takala says to the chief, "Stand up!" He stands, and they tie the scarfs on his arm: one one the left, one on the right. Then the herald stands up also and the third scarf is tied on his right arm. When their arms are thus bound the two sit down, and the Takala proclaims, "Hear ye men of Lomaloma: today is installed the Tui Tuvutha who is Sau in Lomaloma."

To the Rasau they say, "The cloth we are tying we tie for you to be Rasau, to love the people, to look after them well that no evil may come." Then they sit down, and clap, and crawl back to the place where the kava is made. The kava is then brought to the chief and he drinks.

When he has drunk, the two Tuvutha men who carried clubs come and stand in his presence, one on the right, one on the left, and speak thus, "This, Sir, is your rampart, these clubs we two are carrying. Be not faint-hearted. We here are the men of Navusaveti, the men (*tangane*) or (*kei*) Lomaloma. The name of this club is Uphold-Rasau." Then they retire to their places and kava is poured out for the herald; then come Naivindrawalu, who drink third because they are a group of nobles (*tamba turanga*) in Mbutha; they are merely the support of the kava (*i raviti ni yanggona*), but do not become Rasau; then the Ravunisa drinks, then the rest. The torchmaster (*ndaunithina*) then puts out the torches. After the installation they remain in Lomaloma four nights; then the people of Ndakuilomaloma and of Tuvutha take the Rasau to Tuvutha. When he arrives there all the children are taken away, that there may be no noise in the village; if a child cries the father has to make a feast. The people of Tuvutha keep making feasts, not the rest of the people; they carry torches as they bring the feasts. After four nights Rasau bathes in

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

The herald speaks to him, "This is the cloth of the land, the cloth of Tui Mavana. The kava for it stands ready. You will drink it today to be Tui Mavana. I am here tying the cloth thereof that you may love the land, love the men, that you may speak kindly, that you have have a good name in your whole land hereafter."

The kava is poured out for the chief; he drinks. The second goes to the herald. When the kava on the Green is finished they withdraw to the house called Nasima, and take off the cloth. The Nasau, Takala, the herald, and the old men of Mavana hold Tui Mavana in their laps in turn for four nights. While they are nursing him it is forbidden to talk, or beat bark cloth in the village; crying children are taken away. At the end of this time he bathes in the sea and the people of Mavana make a feast: it is their retiring feast (*i vakamka*). The chief is then called Tui Mavana.

The island of Thikombia has one village and three clans: Namarai, Nasau, Yatunakoro. The chief is called Tui Thikombia, an old title like Tui Munia. The present one is a descendant in the male line of the Mualevu nobles and is spoken to respectfully by Tui Mavana; of old he flew a pennant in Mualevu. The chief of Mualevu installs Tui Thikombia. The kava faces Tui Thikombia: he drinks first, then the herald, then Tui Mavana. The herald, who belongs to Nasau, admonishes the Tui Thikombia.

The whole of the Moala group is *tauvu* of Vanua Mbalavu, also of Ngau, or only of Sawayeke in Ngau. Lomati is *tauvu* of Thikombia, and Munia of Mavana.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

INCARNATIONS

424 Incarnations of clan gods (pp. 109-111) are the exclusive property of the clan and only their titles may be used by members of other clans in the presence of the owners.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

462 Labor is organized by sex, kinship, and locality. The main division of labor by sex is as follows:

MEN	WOMEN
gardening	child care
gathering fruit and fuel for the earth oven	fishing with net and line
fishing with spear and line	gathering greens and fuel for boiling in pots
animal husbandry	preparing and boiling food in pots
preparing and steaming food in the earth oven	mat making
house building	barkcloth making
canoe building	oil making
woodworking	
sailing and trading	

In most villages the larger share of the work falls to the men. Formerly, when the output from women's crafts—such as mats, tapas, oil, and pots—was greater, due to the demands of home consumption and trade now supplied in part by western trade goods, the division of labor was more balanced.

462 The chief economic groups of both sexes are kinship groups. The family
571 and the subclan are the working units which supply the daily food and
476 its preparation. For labor requiring more workers the clan becomes the unit.
602 In communal undertakings requiring large groups of workers, the clan and the village function as the main economic units.

CALENDAR OF THE YEAR

805 The Lauans formerly measured time by the moon (*vula*). The complete calendar for the year has been lost, but some of the old terms are still in use in southern Lau. The seasons overlap and in general they are about one month later on Fulanga and Ongea than on Kambara because of the difference in climate.

The outstanding time of year is the harvest season when food is plentiful on most of the southern islands. This lasts roughly for five months during the rainy season, December to April. These months are the "ripe fruit" moons (*vulai matua ni vuqa*) when most of the cultivated and jungle fruit trees bear, including the Tahitian chestnut, *ndawa*, *vala*, mango, *nggalaka*, and breadfruit. Breadfruit, the most important fruit crop, has two seasons,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Namuka own no large sailing canoes and all the exports from Namuka are carried by canoes from other islands. The natives of Kambara make trading journeys to Namuka, Komo, Mothe, and occasionally to Lakemba.

Trade routes tend to follow a south-north, north-south direction. The main trade routes in southern Lau are:

1, Fulanga or Ongea to Mothe either directly or via Namuka

2, Fulanga to Namuka either directly or via Mothe

3, Kambara to Mothe via Wangava and Namuka

4, Kambara to Lakemba via Wangava, Komo, Olorua, and Aiwa, returning either via the same route or via Aiwa, Oneata, Komo, and Wangava

5, Mothe to Lakemba via Oneata and Aiwa

Interisland traders tend to start out northward and take advantage of the southeast trades. For the return journey they must await a change of weather. They usually return after from 3 to 21 days.

Most of the native interisland trade is carried by sailing canoes, occasionally by cutter. The canoes are loaded with great care. Wooden bowls are placed in the hull, barkcloth and mats, wrapped in old mats, are placed on the deck, and timber is lashed to the deck.

Interisland trade is informal, usually carried on by groups of sailors, in from one to five canoes. Less trading is done during the northwest monsoon, especially by Kambarans, Namukans, and Mothese, than during the remainder of the year.

Exchange is effected mainly by means of barter, although occasionally by the ceremonial presentation pattern. It is practically always carried on between relatives who act as hosts to the traders, housing and feeding them while they remain on the island. Goods are usually exchanged not singly but in piles. There are no fixed prices and there is no medium of exchange. (See pages 209-210.) First the initial payment or gift is made. The exchange is satisfactory if the return payment or gift is "levu" (big) for quantity is very important. Each transaction involves a unique adjustment between economic necessity and rivalry for social prestige on the part of traders.

CONCLUSION

Lauan culture consists of a mixture of three complexes—the culture of the aborigines, that of the immigrants from the west, and that of the Tongans from the east. The key to this configuration is found on the island of Kambara in southern Lau. Fortunately for the ethnologist, Kambara is not only isolated in the Fiji group, but the island combines a simple natural environment with an important natural economic monopoly. Kambara's isolation, like that of Fulanga and Ongea, permitted the survival of the land people, the aboriginal inhabitants. Hardwood attracted the major exotic cul-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

volcanic island of Lakemba, home of the high chief of Lau, far out of sight to the north. Visible between Komo and Namuka is the fertile volcanic island of Mothe, the point of departure of canoes for the Tongan archipelago, 400 miles to the east. Visible to the east is the uninhabited Yangasa cluster of islets, and to the southeast Fulanga and Ongea, all of forested limestone formation. Out of sight still farther to the south lie Vatoa and Ono, the southernmost islands in the Lau group.

Kambarans have relatives on most of these islands, as well as on the Moala group to the west, and in the Fijian capital city of Suva. These kinship ties demark the boundaries of their physical world. Only within the limits of this world, among their relatives, are they at home.

Kambara is called the "cave of wealth"[1] on account of her forests of hardwood. The most valued hardwood is greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga*) used for making sailing canoes and other woodwork. Although the finest greenheart is found on Kambara, it grows well also on the neighboring islands of Wangava, Fulanga, and Ongea, but nowhere else in Fiji or Tonga. Based upon this natural monopoly, a famous woodcraft industry has developed in southern Lau. The group formerly supplied Fiji and Tonga with fast and powerful large double war canoes, and still provides many parts of Fiji with picturesque mat-sailed canoes, used extensively on inter-island voyages, and with shining carved wooden bowls, gongs and headrests.

In spite of forest resources, Kambara, Fulanga and Ongea are known in Fiji as "famine isles" on account of the dearth of arable land. The limestone base of these three islands, and of Wangava and Yangasa as well, has not decomposed sufficiently to form good garden land, and pockets of arable soil are scarce and shallow. Gardening, the usual basis of subsistence in Lau, must be supplemented in the famine group

[1] "Nggara-ni-tambua": literally whale's tooth cave, for the ivory tooth of the sperm whale represents the highest value in Lau.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

851 553 names, but all children have at least two names; a Lauan name and a Lauanized biblical name. They receive the latter at a Christian baptism ceremony held in the mission church.

851 602 431 On the day of birth and for two or three days afterwards the mother and child are visited by relatives from both the mother's and the father's clan. The relatives bring small gifts consisting of roasted ripe coconuts, mats, barkcloth, and oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony, and are received by the paternal grandmother. They belong to the child's parents. This is one of a series of competitive affinal exchanges which begin with betrothal and continue throughout the marriage relationship in Lau. They serve to emphasize the relationship of the individual in a patrilineal descent group not only with his father's but also with his mother's clan.

846 For at least four nights after the birth, a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and mother's clans sleep in the house with the mother and child. Formerly the women stayed for ten nights, but the government has tried to discourage this custom on account of the drain on the economic resources of the child's father, so now they stay longer than four nights only if the child's father can feed them without straining his resources.

852 The most important birth feast is held on the first or second day after the birth. The birth feast of a first child, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The kin of both father and mother provide and prepare food for it, whereas only the father's kin do so for subsequent children. If the family is prominent, the birth [554] feast is large and attended by the whole village; if not, the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a [848] child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided by the mother's kin only.

On the fourth day another ceremony is held. The mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

accompanied by her mother or another near relative. The group of relatives who sleep in her house go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast for which the father provides the garden produce. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with barkcloth or mats. The barkcloth in which the newborn infant has been wrapped is removed for the first time and the child is given a steam bath in the house. No men are allowed to be present. Leaves of a certain plant (called *varo*) are placed in a special oblong wooden bowl. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam. When the leaves cease to give forth steam the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel.

On Fulanga the feces of the infant during the first few months are wrapped in barkcloth and kept in a basket hung on the wall of the house. The natives say they are still a part of the child and discarding them would injure him. If the basket of excrement is removed too soon the child will have diarrhoea. For the first child the basket must be kept longer than for subsequent children. After 100 days the father throws the first child's basket over the reef into the sea, and frequently marks the spot with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until after the ceremony which celebrates the child's first birthday. The father does not need to erect a tabu stick, but if he does so he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige, as well as that of the child and of his clan. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows that he is gaining strength. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu and no ceremony is held on the child's first birthday.

On all the islands a feast is held when the first child is one year old. If the parents' and child's clan are prominent, this is a large feast, marked by the ceremonial exchange of mats, barkcloth and other property between the father's and the

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

852 mother's clans. The property is divided between the relatives,
431 and the child's parents receive no share. On this day the child
602 is bathed in the sea for the first time.
[854]

539 CHILDHOOD ON KAMBARA

Mothe, mothe, ko yandra, yandra,
Vuka mai na lupe ni wasa,
Ke lupe ndina, ke mothe manda-e.

Sleep, sleep, and wake, wake,
The dove of the waves comes flying.
If he is a true dove he will sleep-e.

Lauan lullaby.

854 For the first year the mother and child live in a predominately
593 feminine world. Since the father's work takes him to the gardens, the bush and the reef during the day, and to the earth oven in the late afternoon, and since he sleeps in another house at night, he sees the mother and child only at the evening meal and occasionally during the day. Throughout the nursing period, which lasts about one year, the father's chief rôle in the cooperative enterprise of parenthood is the provision of food. He takes little part in the baby's life until the child is old enough to run. If the father does pick the child up he carries him in his arms or on his back, never in a sling, which is used only by women. One is more likely to see the grandfather than the father with the infant on his lap. The father, however, is proud of the child, especially if he is the first born.

854 During the nursing period the mother has practically no-
462 thing to do except care for and play with the infant. She is relieved of her usual tasks, such as fishing, gathering greens, and tending the kitchen fires, by the other women and girls
[162] of her sub-clan. Since the females outnumber the males there are always hands to do the comparatively small amount of work that falls to the women. Unmarried girls fish and gather greens and firewood for the kitchen. They also grate and strain coconut for coconut cream. Older women, with

½ [i.e., the first child's first birthday.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

When the child reaches the age of about seven his personality is set. The natives say he has "come to his mind." This step in his growth is recognized and marked by the end of the unconstrained association of the sexes, and by the enforcement of the brother-sister tabu.

In Lau, cousins are divided into two categories: parallel cousins and cross cousins. Parallel cousins include those cousins related through one's father and belonging to one's own clan (since clans in Lau are patrilineal). They are classed as one's brothers and sisters. Cross cousins include those related through one's mother and belonging to one's mother's clan. Marriage of a man with his cross cousin, that is the daughter of his mother's brother, or the daughter of his father's sister, is preferred, and he may joke and have sexual intercourse with his female relatives in this category; but marriage with his parallel cousins is tabu, and sexual intercourse with this group as well as with his sister is regarded as incest. To avoid incest, a boy is not allowed to speak to his sister or female parallel cousin and *vice versa* after the age of seven or eight. This is called the brother-sister tabu. Usually before the age of ten or eleven a boy begins to sleep in a men's house belonging to one of his relatives, while his sister remains in the house with her parents until she is married.

Never after the age of seven or eight do the sexes mingle freely. By this time the child has become definitely sex conscious and is aware of the differences between the rôles of men and women in his community. He has witnessed the sex life of adults and adolescents around him, and has seen the pains of birth and death.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

upper arm, as chief of the island. Moreover, the first fruits of the whole island are still presented regularly to him. In every ceremony he is accorded the honors of a real, not a titular chief. This is due partly to the fact that his title is clear. There is no confusion regarding the relative rank of clans on Mothe as there is on Kambara. Furthermore, the chief of Mothe is more closely related to the high chief of Lau than the chief of Kambara, since the chief of Mothe and the high chief have a common ancestor five generations back, whereas the chief of Kambara and the high chief have a common ancestor about ten generations back.

The recently created political office of village headman plays an important part in village affairs. The village headman is responsible for the actual enforcement of the native regulations which provide for the communal performance of all activities considered beneficial to the community. These activities include gardening, village planning, house building and sanitation, maintenance of roads and communal property, and the control of infectious diseases. Besides these executive duties the headman welcomes guests and calls village assemblies to decide matters of communal importance.

The headmen of the villages we visited were generally men of rank and ability. I gained the impression that they were executing their duties ably. This was especially true in the village of Tokalau. Ketei of a noble clan (Vuanitavola) was acting village headman in place of Inoke, the son of Tchosaia, the titular chief of Kambara. Inoke was absent on contract labor in Taveuni for the year. Ketei was the most industrious man in the village. He carried out his duties quietly and effectively, and Tokalau was known as one of the cleanest villages in Lau. The village was kept free of bush and was swept by communal labor.

The office of village headman has practically eliminated the old title of village chief. For instance, the headman of a sub-clan (Matandravu) in Tokalau holds the title of "chief-

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

696 554 term has not the stigma attached to it one might expect, however. For instance, Malakai of Tokalau was the village schoolmaster and had an acceptable standing in the community in spite of the fact that he had served a jail term for having stolen money while holding the position of *mbuli Kambara.*

691 626 Practically all court cases in Lau involving natives are handled by the district and provincial courts for natives only. Native district courts are held in preparation for the native provincial circuit court which sits on each island every two or three years. Most of the cases are either truancy or theft. There is a reluctance, however, on the part of the natives to submit cases to the government courts. Public opinion works two ways. It not only serves as a powerful force to prevent breaches of the social code, but it prevents many petty offenses from reaching the courtroom. In southern Lau there is a tendency to settle as many cases as possible out of court. This is possible only because of the strong sense of clan and communal loyalty. A man tries to protect his relatives, especially the members of his clan. This is illustrated by the following case.

691 673 602 One day Ketei, the industrious village headman of Tokalau, came to us with an earnest face. Twenty baskets of sweet potatoes had been taken without permission from his garden in the last three days. This represented the loss of about ten days' food supply for his family. Ketei said he would not have minded the loss, if the person who took them had only asked his permission. We asked if he knew who had taken them. He said he did not. He would not confide even his suspicions to us, but the gossip of the village was that Ramoko of Undu, Ketei's brother-in-law, had taken the sweet potatoes. Ramoko was known as the laziest man in Undu. At the slightest excuse, such as the new year's celebration (introduced in recent times), he moved with his wife and three children to live for two or three weeks with Ketei, his industrious brother-in-law, who always had plenty to eat as a result of hard and persistent

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

labor. Ketei, however, made it a point of clan honor never to complain about a relative, and when the district court met the Ramoko case was not filed.

Theft cases frequently conflict with the native system of soliciting (called *kerekere*). According to this system, a man may solicit any movable property (which is not tabu) from his relative, who is obliged, in order not to lose face, to grant his request. The system weakens the link between a man and his personal or clan property, and shortens the step to theft.